THE Nation

April 23, 1955
20c

A New Socialist Program

by G. D. H. Cole

Sedition Circa 400 B.C.

by Alexander Meiklejohn

Franco Baits A Trap

by Elena de la Souchere

Creeping Security

by Harvey O'Connor

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WEEK
SINCE
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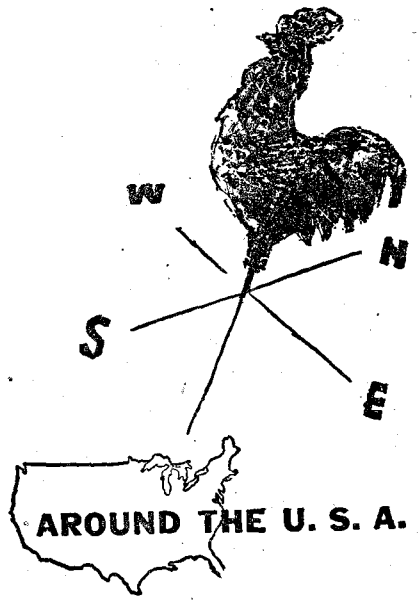

Montanans Look at Their Indians

Bozeman, Montana

THE people of Montana are beginning to take notice of the Indians in the state, long a badly neglected minority group. In the first week of last November some thirty citizens organized a caravan to visit the Fort Peck Indian reservation and spent three days there as guests of the Fort Peck Tribal Council.

In April, 1954, an Institute on Indian Affairs sponsored by the state university had attracted about three hundred people, both Indian and white. In the closing session a Committee on Human Relations was set up and was charged with the responsibility, among other things, of visiting those Indian reservations which cared to receive them and observing conditions at first hand. Tribal leaders from the Fort Peck reservation were the first to issue an invitation. The committee members, after consultation with the Indians, asked experts in various fields to accompany them on the trip.

The group gathered at Poplar in the northeastern part of Montana. Poplar is at about the geographical center of the state's Indian population and is the seat of the agency. In this town of about 1,300 people the line between Indians and whites is sharply drawn. For instance, the Presbyterian Church has two buildings and two pastors—one for the whites and one for the Indians. The church justifies the existence of the Indian mission on the ground that it can better serve the needs of the Indians in this fashion; the Indians, the mission minister says, will not attend the church where the white people go.

Two tribes of Indians live on the Fort Peck reservation—the Sioux and the Assiniboine. Although closely related ethnologically and linguistically, the two tribes have never got along well since the establishment of the reservation in the 1870's. Each has resented the presence of the other. The Sioux are concentrated along the eastern boundary and the Assiniboine along the western. The reservation is eighty miles long.

THE caravan first visited the Sioux, and the members were invited to stay in the Indians' cabins that night. Most of these were mud-chinked log hovels approximately ten by fourteen feet in which sometimes as many as nine people lived. Some new homes were found, modest substantial structures with clapboard siding. Beside one of them meat was seen drying on racks—exposed to the air in the age-old Indian fashion.

After an evening's discussion with the Indian residents the group went to the Assiniboine settlement, where much the same type of life was observed. The land is potentially rich but needs water which the proposed dam on the Missouri River could provide—a project unfortunately shelved in the last session of Congress.

By the third night the visitors and the Indians were talking about common goals, but nothing concrete could be developed. A group of full-blooded older Sioux demanded the withdrawal of federal supervision over Indians with less than one-half Indian blood. The younger mixed-blood Indians felt that termination of supervision should be based on the competency of the individual rather than on the degree of blood. Thus there was conflict between the older and the younger Indians as well as between the two tribes. One elderly Assiniboine reviewed the history of the treaties and the degeneration of his people as the United States government repeatedly failed to live up to its obligations. He spoke fervently in his native tongue, stopping now and then to correct his interpreter when his thoughts were not being rendered into English to his satisfaction. Like all Indian men of his generation, he could understand and speak English but preferred to express his ideas in his own language.

On the last morning the caravan toured the oil fields north of Poplar. It was learned that but one oil well had been developed on tribal land, although various individual Indians have successful wells on their allotments.

THE caravan members came from all parts of the state and from many different occupations. Among them were the president and the dean of students at Northern Montana College, a social-science professor and four of his senior students from Montana State University (550 miles away), an assistant director of extension courses and a professor of English from Montana State College, a sanitarian and a physician from the state Board of Health, two doctors representing the Montana Medical Association, the Coordinator of Indian Affairs in the office of the state Superintendent of Public Instruction, a case worker from the Girls' Vocational School, the vice-president of the Montana Farmers Union, a Lutheran minister who acted as chairman, two business men, the area director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the associate editor of the *People's Voice*, Montana's labor newspaper.

An executive committee has been appointed to meet within a short time in Helena, the state capital, to study the findings and possibly to arrive at acceptable goals and recommendations. Whether these recommendations can be carried out is only speculative. But, at least, a group of Montana citizens, largely at their own expense, spent three days in learning about a problem that has too long lain unrecognized.

VERNE DUSENBERRY

[*Verne Dusenberry, assistant professor of English at Montana State College, has made the Indians of Montana his chief interest for many years. He was adopted by the Flatheads seventeen years ago and spends part of his vacation every summer on Indian reservations.*]

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The Guaranteed Annual Wage

THE YEAR 1955 is likely to be known in labor annals as the year of the guaranteed annual wage (G. A. W.). The United Automobile Workers made it a principal demand as they started contract negotiations with General Motors and Ford early this month. To the U. A. W. leadership, the guaranteed wage is "gospel and dogma," the union's major new demand. If granted by either of the two giant automobile firms, it is almost certain to be conceded on an industry-wide basis and may then spread to other industries. But opposition to the plan, reports the *Journal of Commerce*, has "crystallized among top management," a statement borne out by the recent comment of Lemuel R. Boulware, General Electric's voluble vice-president and tough labor-relations chief, that labor "couldn't be barking up an emptier tree."

The U. A. W. plan consists of two parts. The first provides for a guarantee of forty hours' pay for every worker for each week he is called to work. This safeguard against irregular employment was won by the packing-house workers some years ago and by the auto workers in a recent Willys contract. It has the added incidental advantage of making it impossible for an employer to stagger part-time employment in a manner that safeguards his own preferred merit-rating for payroll-tax purposes while disqualifying workers from receiving unemployment compensation.

The second part of the plan, dealing with the G. A. W. as such, guarantees each employee with seniority the equivalent of his full-time weekly take-home pay for a period equal to half the total number of weeks he has been on the company's payroll. The guarantee is limited to one year. Since initial seniority status under U. A. W. contracts is acquired after three-months work within a period of six months, the plan would cover virtually the entire personnel covered by the contract. Employees who have been on the payroll for one year would be guaranteed against loss of income for six months; those who have been on the payroll for two years or more would be assured of their income for a full year.

The plan, carefully drawn up to cover all kinds of contingencies, is extremely complicated. *The Nation* will bring its readers a detailed analysis of it in an early issue; here only a few of its major implications will be discussed. Firstly, it is obvious that an employer would rather pay a worker for working than for not working; the pressure will be on him, therefore, to spread his production schedule in such fashion as to avoid wholesale layoffs. Secondly, specific provisions give the employer a direct stake in the unemployment-compensation problem which today only labor has. The plan implies that the laid-off worker's guaranteed income will be comprised of two elements: his unemployment compensation plus the guaranteed-wage contribution from the employer. Together these payments must equal the full weekly take-home pay of the worker at the time he was laid off. It is clear, therefore, that the larger the unemployment compensation, the smaller will be the employer's contribution, a fact which may incline the employer toward more liberal and better administered unemployment-compensation systems. The worker, too, would favor the largest possible percentage of his guaranteed wage to be in the form of unemployment compensation. Wages are taxable; compensation is not.

Under the plan, the laid-off employee must accept other work if available, in which case he is entitled only to the difference between the weekly wage from his new job and the amount of his guaranteed wage. The whole plan would be administered by a joint board, headed by an impartial chairman, which would establish its own standards of "suitable" employment and would adjudicate disputes "without regard to any standard that may be provided in state-unemployment compensation laws"—a commentary on the extent to which labor feels aggrieved by the present administration of these laws.

THERE is nothing new about guaranteed-wage plans, which were quite common in the 1920's. But labor's experience with early versions was not altogether happy. Some were used to thwart unionizing drives; others were used as "bait" for the speed-up; still others weakened unions by creating rifts among the workers. Low-seniority employees often felt they were being denied wage increases in return for a guarantee which applied only to high-seniority personnel. High-seniority workers, in turn, often felt that they were denied wage increases because of a guarantee which they might never need. Certain "traditional" plans which have been in operation for some years—such as those at Proctor and Gamble, George A. Hormel, and Nunn-Bush Shoe Company—have been sponsored mostly by firms making consumer staples which are less vulnerable to seasonable variations and depressions than the automobile and

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steel industries. With the growth of unions in the 1930's, many guaranteed-wage plans were either abandoned or rejected by organized labor.

From this experience it is clear that any G. A. W., if it is to serve labor's interests, must meet certain specifications. It must be incorporated in a firm contractual guarantee enforceable by a strong, independent union. It must guarantee substantially full weekly wages. It must cover substantially all the labor forces involved, lest it create divisions within the union. It must also be based upon contractual rights to job security with adequate provision for their enforcement. By and large, the U. A. W.'s plan meets these requirements.

THE CRUX of the practicability of a sound G. A. W. is the ability of the paymaster to withstand a depression, particularly in sensitive industries such as automobiles. A study made by Murray W. Latimer in 1947 showed that, at a cost of approximately 7.5 per cent of their actual payrolls, automobile manufacturers could have guaranteed about 95 per cent of the full-time earnings of all their workers during the recession years 1937-1941. The U. A. W. plan proposes to limit liability for the employer to a percentage of the payroll sufficient to cover current obligations for guaranteed wages and to build up a reserve fund. The percentage is not stipulated in the plan but is left subject to negotiation. Business circles estimate that the employer's initial contribution would be from 7 to 12 cents an hour per employee.

Obviously the successful operation of a guaranteed-wage plan is best assured if it can be introduced at the inception of a reasonably long period of steady employment. The working force could then acquire full rights and a reserve fund be accumulated. On the other hand, it is likely that only when serious unemployment threatens will union members be prepared to back up a demand for the G. A. W. by strike action, if necessary. These considerations suggest that the U. A. W. is raising its demand at a difficult time. In the face of estimated sales of 6,000,000 car this year—the estimate was made by G. M.'s president—the auto industry has been producing cars since January first at a rate which, if maintained, will exceed 8,000,000 for the year. The industry is apparently building up large inventories as a hedge against prolonged union negotiations. In any case, it looks as if production will drop by one-fourth or one-half for the last six months of 1955. Any reasonable employer contribution to a G. A. W. which started during a period of relatively low production would be inadequate to maintain full guaranteed payments, unless a substantial reserve were set up in advance or standard work-hours reduced. Under these circumstances it is possible that the union may be put under strong pressure to settle for a G. A. W. plan that would not embody the safeguards that past experience has shown to be advisable.

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Interest in the G. A. W. has been building up for a long time, stimulated by many factors. Sensational reports on the short-run effects of automation have disturbed labor; the International Union of Electric Workers-C. I. O. estimates that 110,000 workers in the electrical industry lost their jobs in the twenty-one months ending last November 30 primarily because of the increased use of automatic equipment. There has been a serious decline in the ratio of unemployment benefits to wages; the average worker who loses his job today receives only 30 per cent of his weekly wages as unemployment compensation and even these benefits are exhausted in nineteen weeks. Linked to automation and other improvements in production techniques is labor's growing dissatisfaction with so-called "productivity" increases. According to Dr. Seymour E. Harris, the average cutback in man-hours in the period 1923-1949 was twice as great for production-line workers as it was for all other jobs. Basically the U. A. W.'s insistence on the guaranteed wage foreshadows a determination in planning an orderly schedule of production. In terms of human welfare, there is really no answer to the production-line workers' contention that what's good for Harlow Curtice, and the business-office force, is also good for him.

YET it would appear that the shorter work week, rather than G. A. W., is the direct answer to automation short of a constantly stepped-up production. Shorter hours provide employment for more people; guaranteed wages protect employe earnings but do not create jobs. Indeed it may be argued that automation is more of a threat to G. A. W. than the guaranteed wage is a safeguard against the ill effects of automation. The A. F. of L. has generally favored the shorter work week over G. A. W. as a remedy for unemployment. But early in February the Railway Employees Department decided to sponsor a demand for G. A. W. and George Meany, president of the A. F. of L., has endorsed it, a circumstance which should strengthen the U. A. W.'s bargaining position. None of this excludes early demands for a shorter work week, to which the auto workers themselves give a priority second only to G. A. W. It is possible that the U. A. W., if it cannot get a guaranteed-wage plan with proper safeguards, may decide to throw its weight behind the alternative.

Regardless of the outcome of the current negotiations, the demand for G. A. W. is the most important item on labor's agenda at the moment. Despite persistent rumors that U. A. W. has a "prearranged agreement to agree" with the Ford Motor Company—an agreement which might force General Motors into line—the build-up in employer resistance indicates that a battle is developing which could have important consequences for the economy and lead, as Doris Fleeson has suggested to a "political revolution of sorts" in 1956.

The Shape of Things

The Death of Einstein

With the death of Albert Einstein, all of us have died a little, for he represented what is noblest in the human mind and spirit. It is a supreme irony that this man of saintly impulse, who sought to unlock the universe for the betterment of mankind, should have succeeded in unlocking the atom for what could be mankind's destruction. He dedicated the last years of his life to averting this catastrophe, and, man willing, it will yet be averted. He left us a key which opens two doors; ours is the choice.

The Nation will bring to its readers an appreciation of Einstein, the man and his work, in an early issue.

The "Deed" We Wanted?

Although the Soviet government has at last performed the "deed"—the exact deed—that President Eisenhower called for as an earnest of its genuine desire to end the cold war, nobody seems very happy about it except the Austrians. The treaty terms Chancellor Raab brought home from Moscow are more generous at almost every point than Austria and the West expected and were ready to accept—even including the demand for Austrian neutrality. But Western officials are moody and skeptical. Having got what they said they wanted, they now show alarm over the motives behind Moscow's unwelcome compliance. They suggest that Russia's proposal to restore Austrian sovereignty, pull out the Occupation armies, release war prisoners, and scale down economic demands in return for a guaranty that Austria "will not join any military alliances or permit military bases on her territory" is nothing but a maneuver aimed at the Germans. That it has this purpose can hardly be doubted. For West Germany, still basically unreconciled to rearmament and division, is reacting with enthusiasm; opposition forces, especially the Socialists, are already demanding a deal as attractive as that which Dr. Raab has accepted and which the West, if no booby-traps are later discovered, will also have to accept.

Indeed the Vienna-Moscow agreement is a sharp challenge to the whole policy embodied in the Paris treaties—and a threat to the Adenauer government. In one brilliant maneuver Russia has confounded Washington's strategic concept of diplomacy "through strength"—with Germany the chief focus of European military might.

But to those who have passionately looked for a crack in the East-West deadlock, the proposed treaty offers new hope. Not only does it strengthen resistance to a rearmed Germany in the Western alliance. It also revives the idea of a tier of neutral democratic nations, reaching from Sweden to the Alps, as a barrier to hot war in Europe.

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Failure of a Policy

The State Department hailed the Iraqi-Turkish pact as a triumph of American policy in the Middle East; in fact it was a proof of failure. Mr. Dulles's objective from the start has been to unify the Arabs in a pro-West alliance. But the pact has split the Arabs instead of uniting them. Because of it Egypt, furious with Iraq, is shepherding Syria and Saudia Arabia into a new bloc neutralist in everything except enmity for Israel and Turkish-Syrian relations are at a new low ebb. India, already irritated by Western aid to Pakistan and the SEATO pact, has been pushed farther into the opposition camp. We are boasting of a policy which divides not our enemies but our potential friends.

What else can we boast about in the Middle East? Peace? There is probably more bloodletting, in proportion to populations involved, along the Arab-Israel borders than in the Formosa Strait. Justice for peoples? Ambassador Abba Eban, Israel's representative at the U. N., told the Security Council on March 23:

> Egypt considers and proclaims that there is a "state of war." In the name of that "state of war" Egypt asserts a "right" to perform hostile acts of her own choice against Israel. On the other hand, Egypt claims immunity from any hostile response emanating from Israel. This is the doctrine of unilateral belligerency; and it has no parallel or precedent in the jurisprudence of nations.

On March 6 a State Department spokesman declared that Israel could not be included in any defense pact with the Arab states until tensions were resolved. But far from alleviating tensions, the West's maneuvering has simply created new ones. Turkey and India, once friendly to Israel, are rapidly becoming less so, not because of anything that Israel has done, but because Turkey is now influenced by Iraq and India is courting "neutralist" Egypt.

What we see emerging in the Middle East is not a policy but the shambles of one. We are serving neither our own strategic interests nor the interests of international morality. The only resolution to the Middle East problem has been pointed out many times in these columns: an Arab-Israel peace. The Israelis want it; the Arabs must be induced to seek it.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

AFTER months of self-imposed silence, Mr. Adlai Stevenson's return to the national scene has evoked gratitude among all who cherish clarity of speech when it expresses courageous thought. It would of course have been better if Mr. Stevenson had spoken before Congress became the partner of the Administration in its Formosa policy. But the balance of forces was against him.

As presented, the Formosa resolution was designed to have the American government speak with one voice in warning the Peking government of the dangers of aggression. The leaders of the Democratic Party in Congress, regardless of their private anxieties, had decided they had no alternative but to endorse the resolution to confirm this display of national unity.

A challenge by Mr. Stevenson at that stage might easily have produced an indignant recoil in Congress and spoiled his power to influence later events.

When he pointed to the hazards of the present policy, he had on his side the second thoughts of many people who have grown more critical of the drift of American policy. One significant detail will point the contrast. When Senator Morse criticized American policy in the Formosa area and sought a clear statement of American objectives toward Quemoy and Matsu, it was possible for Senator Knowland, speaking with the evident approval of most of his colleagues, to denounce the Oregon Senator in harsh and unmeasured terms. That scene could not be repeated today. No longer is it possible to smother doubt and anxiety by an invocation of the sacred name of national unity.

Mr. Dulles made a curious comment on Mr. Stevenson's speech. He rebuked Mr. Stevenson for ignoring Nationalist China and for suggesting, according to Mr. Dulles, that the United States should publicly prod friendly governments on the necessity of a diplomatic settlement in the Formosa area. Mr. Dulles is wrong on both points. Mr. Stevenson never advocated a public arraignment of Allied policy. He has no wish to dispute the eminence of Mr. Dulles in this unfortunate art. The views he expressed on Quemoy and Matsu have won the support of most diplomats in Washington. It is probable that American deference to the wishes of the Allies would mean that the offshore islands would come under the authority of Peking. Does that mean that Formosa would be abandoned? Not in the least. Mr. Stevenson really proposed a method of gaining new members for the Formosa security pact and strengthening its effectiveness. For he argued that the Free World cannot allow Formosa to be captured by communism without sustaining an injury to its own interests and security. Once the United States heeded the advice and warnings of its allies on Quemoy and Matsu, it would be much easier for the State Department to get greater agreement on the importance of Formosa.

Besides, there are strong practical

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reasons for this approach. If Chiang Kai-shek felt that his position on Formosa was being weakened beyond repair, he would almost certainly refuse to evacuate Quemoy and Matsu without fighting.

Even while concerned with the security of Formosa, just as he was eager to avoid a war that might start over Quemoy and Matsu, Mr. Stevenson succeeded in putting this whole problem in a new and helpful framework. He urged that the ultimate adjudication of Formosa's destiny should be made by the United Nations. He has thus returned to the theme first proposed by President Truman when he ordered the Seventh Fleet to protect Formosa, but lost in the shoals of later confusions. There would be a merciful abatement of anxiety in friendly governments all over the world if Mr. Dulles accepted Mr. Stevenson's advice and no longer made Formosa's future the morbid monopoly of the State Department.

Finally, Mr. Stevenson performed his greatest service in urging that American policy be determined now, calmly yet resolutely, instead of waiting for President Eisenhower to make up his mind after Communistic China has actually struck the first blow, in conditions of battle and excitement that preclude far-sighted political wisdom. Confronted by a speech of such power, it was merely silly for Mr. Dulles to suggest that Mr. Stevenson was the echo of the State Department's wisdom.

UNINTENTIONAL irony marked the quarrel between Mr. Dulles and Mr. Corsi. Mr. Dulles was speaking on the tenth anniversary of Mr. Roosevelt's death. There was something squalid about this controversy conducted against the memory of a President always responsive to suffering. At the 50th anniversary of the Statute of Liberty Roosevelt praised the immigrants who came to America speaking many tongues but a single language—the universal language of human aspirations. In the splendor of this vision the puny strategems of Mr. Dulles looked peculiarly unpersuasive.

The irritated Mr. Corsi soon filled the land with his anger. But it would be a mistake to have the debate turn on the rights and wrongs of individuals. The important thing now is to tear the bigotry out of the McCarran-Walter law and get the refugee-relief act working.

ENDING the system of school segregation will not be easy. The Supreme Court always knew that, and its task looked no simpler after the arguments from the Southern states and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. But no one sensitive to justice and human dignity could have heard without shame and compassion the association's argument that the final overwhelming indictment of racial segregation is provided by the figures on Negro disease and illiteracy paraded by some of the Southern states.

FRANCO BAITS A TRAP

The "Monarchist" Trick . . *by Elena de la Souchere*

Paris

THE precariousness of the dynastic arrangement which was supposed to open an era of stability for Spain is pointed up by the crisis through which the Franco regime is now passing—the sharp opposition of the Falange and the monarchists, the unbalanced economy, the delay in carrying out the Spanish-American pact; the last, by all appearances, was the reason for the resignation of Mr. William, chief of the American economic mission in Spain. The deterioration of the economic situation and the increasing deficit in the balance of trade—which reached $100,000,000 in 1954—are forcing Franco to ask for new credits at the very time that the American government is complaining of the slowness with which work proceeds at the bases, of the supplementary payments demanded by Spanish contractors working on the Torrejon-Barajas airfield near Madrid, and of the delay in expropriating the right of way for the Saragossa-Cadiz pipeline.

Francisco Franco

Giminez Arnau, director of economic cooperation, in a speech delivered at the dinner given by the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce in honor of Mr. de Lequerica, former ambassador to Washington, underlined the insufficiency of American aid. He was answered by a State Department spokesman who said that the Iberian bases had lost some of their strategic importance since the pact was signed. Similar charges and counter-charges were made in the course of the negotiations which preceded the conclusion of the pact, but the American government was not deterred from its purpose. And certainly it has today no intention of giving up its Iberian jumping-off platforms.

While during the negotiations the

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lessened value of the bases was emphasized by the United States for bargaining purposes, the reappearance of the same argument today is a sign of serious disagreement. The anxiety of the Franco government is clear from the effort it is making to meet the most definite of the American demands by declaring the construction of the bases to be a work of "urgent necessity and of public utility." At a recent ministerial council the leaders of the regime admitted that the military problems posed by the application of the pact were easier to resolve than the economic. In fact, the most serious disputes between Madrid and Washington have arisen over economic issues. The position of the United States challenges the very nature of the planned Franco economy. It is not surprising, therefore, that Spanish-American relations have become more tense since the recent dynastic arrangement, which, far from setting Spain on the road toward a progressive "liberalization," is today thought of in Madrid as a way of perpetuating under a new label the totalitarian rule of the Falange.

THE economic-liberalization clauses included in the pact with a view to developing Spanish-American economic cooperation conform to the desires of Spanish business men. Business interests are trying to impose a policy of deflation and massive economies, which implies curbing Falangist activities and contracting the bureaucratic apparatus. Spanish and American firms have joined in a campaign to throw off the control exercised over industry by the National Institute of Industry, a Falangist agency having the right to authorize or prohibit the opening of new enterprises, to stabilize the peseta, and to abolish the multiple exchanges. Spanish and American business men are also seeking restoration of the right to engage freely in foreign trade, today controlled by the Spanish Institute of the Mint, and repeal of the law limiting private American investments in Spain to 25 per cent of the whole.

So far Franco has refused to yield to these demands. Apparently he intends to retain intact the framework of the Falange, which extends into every group of the population. And he knows that the loyalty of the organization depends on the economic privileges granted to its members. No privileges, no faithful adherents of the regime.

Losing hope of converting the Caudillo to their economic views, Spanish business circles tried to exert pressure on him by working for the restoration of the monarchy. By complying in principle and promising to bring back the monarchy in the distant future Franco has deprived them of a weapon and a banner. At the same time he has created the impression abroad that the regime is undergoing a "normalization" which should facilitate the entry of Spain into international organizations.

The projected restoration does not immediately endanger the personal power of the Caudillo since the official proclamation of Don Juan Carlos as his successor will not take place until the young prince has completed his studies, at least six years. This maneuver was favored by the Pretender. Divided between his desire to sweep away the barrier to the throne represented by Franco and his fear of dealing the regime blows which, in the present state of opinion, might open the way to a left republicanism, Don Juan hastened to accept a compromise which, at the price of his personal effacement, assured the recognition of the monarchist principle and of the Bourbon dynasty. In placing the monarchy under the aegis of the dictator, however, he is running the risk of alienating not only the masses—largely Republican in any case—but also the capitalists.

IT IS becoming clear that the monarchist solution put forward by a coalition of business interests to insure the repudiation of *dirigisme* is simply a new label on the unchanged nature of the regime. This is evident from the statement made by the Caudillo to the Falangist daily *Arriba* on the day after the arrival of the young prince in Spain. "The monarchy to be set up in our country," Franco said, "should not be confused with the kind of liberal and parliamentary monarchy which we have discarded. . . . The purpose of the restoration is to assure the continuation of our work."

The daily *ABC*, organ of the monarchists, has been forced to condemn the English type of liberal monarchy. "We reject," it said, "universal suffrage and its corollary—a sterile parliament." A National Radio broadcast also announced that the eventual restoration would not "modify the regime or alter the constant lines of its policy." In a second interview given to *Arriba* the Caudillo reiterated that the identification of the future king with the "national movement," which was the indispensable condition of his return, would "assure the continuity of the regime."

These statements are in part designed to allay the anxiety of the Falange. The reality of this anxiety is proved by the proposal to confer on the statute of the Falange the character of a "fundamental law" and thereby guarantee the structure of the party and the security of its members. Various incidents have revealed the Falange's attitude. Cries of "Death to the King!" resounded during a recent ceremony organized by the Falangist union of students to commemorate the death of their founder, Matias Montero. The head of the national university union, Jorge Jordana, resigned in protest against the projected restoration.

But only a small minority of the party shows open dissatisfaction. Franco has declared his fidelity to the Falangist principles and confirmed it by his acts. He has just increased by fifty members the number of Falangist representatives in the Cortes. He informed the preceptor of the prince that the prince would not be permitted to attend public events—races, matches, and so on — except at the side of the Caudillo, lest there be manifestations of monarchist fervor. An indirect fine of 2,000,000 pesetas was recently imposed on the monarchist *ABC* by withdrawing its supply of newsprint at the preferential price granted to the press.

Moreover, the government has so far refused to examine the demand for a review of the Madrid municipal elections made by monarchist candidates defeated as a result of fraud and violence. Hand-written copies of this demand for review are circulating secretly in Madrid. It asserts among other things that the Marquis de la Rambla, a severely

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wounded veteran of the Blue Division, was beaten up in the middle of the Gran Via under the eyes of impassive policemen.

Even more severe repression is practiced against Republicans. Only a few weeks ago the public learned of the assassination of the former mayor of Blanes, Catalonia. This Republican of the old school was one of those exiles who trusted in the Franco amnesty. He returned to Spain and was at once arrested. A short time afterward he was beaten to death by his guards under the pretext that he was attempting to escape.

Violence remains the law of the regime. The repressive legislation enacted at the close of the civil war is still in force and permits arrests without warrant, long imprisonment without appearance before a magistrate, interrogations without the presence of a lawyer, and the use of torture. Sixteen persons accused of reorganizing a Masonic lodge in Catalonia were recently condemned by a special military tribunal to imprisonment of from twelve to twenty years. All protests against these arbitrary acts are paralyzed by the severe laws dealing with meetings, associations, and the press.

Franco spoke the simple truth in a recent interview published by *Arriba:* "Our thought is that there must not be any change." In Franco Spain nothing changes. It is possible, nevertheless, that the lying monarchist label pasted over the unchanged realities of the regime will bring about Spain's entry into the U. N. It is possible that speeding up the construction of the bases will help Franco to obtain new credits from the United States. But effective foreign aid and a true economic renovation would require the abolition of the Falangist system, and the Falange provides the apparatus of control through which Franco keeps in check the reformist push of the masses.

WALTER WHITE

A Coworker's Tribute . . . *by Henry Lee Moon*

WALTER WHITE was my friend. But he was also the friend of all humankind. His great passion and motivating force was this love of people—of whatever race, color, religion, class, or national origin. It made it easy for him to win friends for himself and for the cause he represented through his long years of leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I first met Walter White at the association's tenth annual conference in my home city of Cleveland in June, 1919. The leaders of the ten-year-old N. A. A. C. P. were all present—Mary White Ovington, W. E. B. DuBois, Joel Spingarn, William Pickens, James Weldon Johnson and his blond young assistant, Walter White of Atlanta, who had joined the N. A. A. C. P. staff the previous year. I had just been graduated from high school and was attending the sessions with my father, a founder and the first president of the association's Cleveland branch. For me it was an unforgettable experience—all the heroes of my youth were there.

Walter White

Only twenty-five years old, Walter was gay, witty, and debonair. Already his daring exploits as an investigator of lynchings had won him a special niche in the hearts of those trying to wipe out this gruesome crime. He was regarded as a sort of modern-day St. George battling the dragons of lynch law and white supremacy.

I saw him last on the day of his death, March 21. He had come into the office for the first time since his return from a month's rest in Puerto Rico and Haiti. Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the N. A. A. C. P. board, and a few staff members had gathered to welcome him and to be regaled with stories of his trip. He looked well and was in good spirits. It was a chill, rainy day, but in Walter's office were warmth and camaraderie. We were all pleased to see how well he seemed. I was finishing dinner at home when I answered the telephone to hear the words: "Walter White has just died."

PARADOXICALLY, Walter White, who liked people and wanted to be liked by them, was constantly at the center of conflict, a spot he thoroughly enjoyed when the conflict raged around the cause dearest to his heart—the status of the Negro in American life. In this conflict he was a leader who never hesitated to expose himself to enemy fire, physical as well as verbal. He was always eager to take on all comers in de-

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bate, and many times in his early years of investigating and exposing mob violence his life was in real danger. No sacrifice was too great for him if it furthered this cause. Caution and selfishness were alien to him.

He could not be restrained. He worked at his job constantly. He conferred with leaders of government, of industry, and of organized labor in an unceasing campaign to level racial barriers. Wherever the fight for civil rights was going on, there would be Walter. At the first indication of trouble he was on his way to the scene: to Mims, Florida, where the N. A. A. C. P. state leader, Harry T. Moore, and his wife were assassinated by a bomb exploded in their home on Christmas night, 1951; to Cicero, Illinois, when hoodlums wrecked the apartment of Harvey Clark; to many a Southern lynch town. He was in San Francisco for the founding of the United Nations. He regularly attended national conventions of the Republicans and Democrats, seeking inclusion of meaningful civil-rights planks in their party platforms.

For seven years I worked closely with Walter White, occupying an office adjacent to his. They were busy years, for he believed in keeping the staff working at his own killing pace. We have a five-day week at the N. A. A. C. P., but this meant nothing to Walter when there was a job to be done. And in an organization like ours there is always need for action.

Walter was constantly on the aggressive, attacking the forces of bigotry with zest, courage, and imagination. He never acknowledged defeat. Even after a seeming failure he would bounce back, eager to renew the fight. He fought with all his heart but never with hatred or bitterness. I have known white Southerners to express amazement on meeting him. They had expected a fire-breathing creature with horns. They found an urbane, warmhearted, delightful personality.

Through his wide contacts Walter White was one of the most influential persons in America. He seemed to know everybody and everyone knew him. Toward the end of 1950 the association decided to send its special counsel, Thurgood Marshall, to Korea to investigate the treatment of Negro troops. Everything had been cleared by the State and Defense departments when word came that General MacArthur, then the Supreme Commander of U. N. forces in the Far East, had turned down Marshall's application for permission to enter the theater. Marshall, Roy Wilkins, N. A. A. C. P. administrator, and I had a hurried meeting with Walter. We were ready to give up and issue a statement blasting MacArthur. But Walter demurred. "Hold on," he said. "Do we want to denounce MacArthur or do we want to get Thurgood into Korea? I know the General and I think it can be arranged." Naturally we acceded, although dubiously, and Walter sent a cable asking for reconsideration of the application. Within twenty-four hours a reply was received from General MacArthur rescinding his former action.

In his eulogy at the funeral Dr. Tobias spoke of Walter's "characteristic mixture of protest and optimism." These qualities were truly characteristic, as were his love of humanity and his enjoyment of his work. Under his leadership significant advances were made in the whole field of race relations, but none knew better than Walter White that his lifework was unfinished. It is for his successors to complete the task.

A NEW SOCIALIST PROGRAM

Why the Old Has Failed . . *by G. D. H. Cole*

London

WHEN I turned Socialist in my school days socialism appeared to be essentially an international movement. There were many kinds of Socialists, but all or almost all of them had the sense of forming part of a growing international force that was destined before very long to conquer the world. Jaures, Lenin, Kautsky and Keir Hardie, Eugene Debbs and Victor Berger, Sidney Webb and Ramsay MacDonald were all members of one and the same Socialist International. Only the Anarchists and the remote Labor parties of Australasia were outside it. Socialism was then in practice mainly European, but its outlook and its ambitions were world wide, and up to about 1912 it seemed to be growing quite fast in the United States. When I joined the Socialist movement in England, it never occurred to me to doubt that I was accepting an international obligation and a loyalty that transcended national frontiers. My task, as I saw it, was to play my small part in a great crusade for human brotherhood that would make an end of the exploitation of man by man and of country by country, destroying capitalism and imperialism together and putting in their place a world society set free from war and hatred to devote its energies and vast resources to banishing poverty and slavery from every country.

I do not mean that so huge a task seemed easy: I do mean that the nature of the task was not in doubt and that it was felt to demand a concerted international effort. Where are that task and that effort now? Ever since 1917 there has been no common movement. There have

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been rather two sharply antagonistic movements, each claiming to be the torchbearer of the true socialism but at bitter conflict about the means of advancing toward their goal and even about the goal itself. Communism and democratic socialism have spent their energies in fighting each other; and in the process communism has turned into totalitarian tyranny, while democratic socialism has renounced its old ambition of world revolution and has shrunk into a number of separate national movements for the furtherance of the welfare state. Communism, as a world revolutionary force, has not hesitated to repress all liberty of thought and action outside the dictates of a single ruling party; democratic socialism has surrendered its major aspirations in order to meet the requirements of parliamentary success and in wooing the "marginal" voter has diluted its faith till it is prepared, instead of fighting capitalism, to make common cause with capitalism against the "Communist enemy."

Courtesy New Statesman and Nation (London)

I HAVE never been able to accept as final this sharp cleavage in what I still think of as fundamentally a single world-wide movement against oppression. I am no Communist, for I detest the suppression of all free thinking which Communists not only regard as needful but seem positively to admire. I hate cruelty, centralization, rigid discipline, and the vindicative mistrust which the Communist philosophy appears to involve. I cannot, however, for that reason consent to regard the peoples of the Communist countries, or the Communists of my own or other countries, as enemies with whom I have nothing in common. I have much in common with them. I share their wish to help all the subject peoples of the world to emancipate themselves from foreign imperialist rule; I admire their planned economies and their vast achievements in economic construction; and I see them, on one condition, as advancing, however deviously, toward a classless society and an expansion of freedom for the ordinary man and woman in the affairs of everyday living. The one condition is, of course, that they escape from the ever-present peril of utterly destructive world war, fear of which poisons their behavior and forbids them the luxuries of common honesty and decent tolerance.

I am assuredly no Communist. But no more am I a Democratic Socialist if this means renouncing the Socialist revolution and reducing socialism to a set of independent national electoral movements designed to gain parliamentary majorities with the support of non-Socialist voters. I do not deny the need for parliamentary action, but I do deny that socialism means no more than a number of national endeavors to advance gradually and constitutionally toward the welfare state. Even where nominally Socialist parties have gained majority support, they have never attempted to establish socialism: even their attempts to further welfare have shown signs of petering out after their initial successes, owing to the difficulty of advancing further without disturbing the smooth working of the capitalist structure—to which they are supposed to be hostile—and the fear that by attacking it they will alienate marginal support. This seems to be the position in the Scandinavian countries, as well as in Great Britain.

The situation is much worse wherever communism has emerged to win a substantial body of support. In France and Italy the Democratic Socialists are today no more than impotent parliamentary factions with no prospect of winning political power. Moreover, in countries which are rulers of dependent empires, the Socialist parties have been quite unable to take wholeheartedly the side of the dependent peoples and have acquiesced in or even abetted the holding down of colonial nationalism by imperialist force. I admit that the British had the sense to renounce their rule in India before they were driven out by force, but they are still, with Socialist acquiescence, holding down Malaya and Kenya. The Dutch had to be driven out of Indonesia, as the French are being driven out of Indo-China, by *force majeure;* and in neither country have the Socialists dared to side unequivocally with the colonial nationalists. It has been left to the Communists, from whatever motive, to appear as the cham-

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pions of the oppressed peoples of the world.

Add to this that in Europe the Democratic Socialist parties, in their fear of Communist aggression, seem to be prepared to acquiesce in the rearmament of West Germany under conditions that will make German unification impracticable without war, and also in the arming of their countries' forces with atomic weapons and in the manufacture of hydrogen bombs on the plea that they will serve as a "deterrent" to aggression. I shall not believe without more evidence than there has been so far that these policies are in fact approved by a majority of those who vote Socialist in elections, and I feel sure they are not supported by a majority of active party workers. They are being forced on the Socialist parties by a reactionary leadership that has come to be more anti-Communist than pro-Socialist and sees nothing amiss in turning to capitalist America as its ally against the Communists.

IN THESE circumstances old Socialists such as I am—internationalists and non-Communists—find ourselves in a terribly difficult position. We are adjured, in the name of unity and of loyalty to our parties, to renounce our opposition to policies which we feel are disastrous and amount to a betrayal of socialism; and we are threatened with expulsion and ostracism unless we toe the line. I for one cannot do this without violating my fundamental beliefs; and I am led accordingly to question the entire assumption that my party has the right to my final loyalty. This loyalty I owe, not to any party or to any merely national movement, but to socialism as an essentially international cause. I know there are others in Great Britain who share this sentiment, and I feel there must be many in other countries too. The question is: What can those who find themselves in this predicament do, not so much in order to escape from it personally as to rescue socialism from the conditions that have brought it about?

This predicament could not, I think, have arisen were there not something badly amiss with socialism itself—or rather with the development of Socialist thought in face of the vast change in the problems mankind must face in order to progress, or even to survive. In my own country the Labor Party, though it reckons on returning before very long to political power, has no such clear vision of what it means, or even wants, to do next as it had in 1945. Its recent programs have been quite remarkably ineffective and even trivial. They have not proposed any substantial further step toward the supersession of capitalism or toward a classless society at home; and in international affairs they have put forward nothing even remotely of a Socialist character. So far as I can see, the situation is much the same elsewhere. The Socialist vision has faded, and the idealism with it, leaving no more behind than a mild desire to soften the asperities of capitalism and social inequality, without any frontal attack on either. It is as if full employment and a gradual development of the social-security services were enough, without any change in fundamental class relations or in the status of the worker in his employment.

What, then, is to be done? The socialism to which I was converted in my youth was the fruit of long, hard, and passionate thinking, subsequently translated into policies, not for the full establishment of a Socialist way of life, but for the first steps toward it. Socialists have been too long content to live by using up the intellectual capital they accumulated in the nineteenth century. They have stopped thinking, and have let the world situation march on a great distance without adapting themselves to its changes. What is needed is new intellectual capital, which can be only a product of fresh concerted thinking. It is evident, alas, that this will not be provided by the various national Socialist parties, which are too much preoccupied with electioneering and too much dominated by American-based anti-communism to be capable of clear thinking or of looking ahead. Besides, mass parties cannot think; they can only be influenced by the thinking of individuals or small groups of people who are prepared to think for them.

With these ideas in mind I have come to the conclusion that an attempt should be made to establish internationally a small society, or order, of Socialists who would pledge themselves to do their best to restate the essentials of their Socialist faith in terms applicable to the present world situation, and not to be deterred from following where their thoughts lead them by fear of being called "disloyal" to their national parties or of being disciplined by or excluded from them. The immediate task of this group would be not to act but to think together and to plan—to restate Socialist principles in relation to the most pressing contemporary problems, and to base on these principles a broad program of action in which the various national movements could be called upon to play their part. Each member of the group, or order, would publicize its ideas in his own country and try to induce the national leaders to take them up. All this would need time before it could produce a significant effect, but the longer it would take the sooner it should be begun.

THE principles and policies that would emerge from such a process cannot be laid down in advance. They would be the outcome of a real interchange of ideas. All that I can usefully say about them is that they would have to include at least four things: first, a clearly defined attitude toward the making and potential use of atomic weapons; second, a well-thought-out plan of campaign for a "war upon want" designed to equalize, as nearly as possible, conditions of living in all countries; third, plans for a world economic structure that will avoid the evils both of capitalism and of bureaucratic centralization and will open up for the workers in every country rapidly increasing opportunities for democratic, responsible self-government in their working lives; and fourth, the complete ending of imperialist domination, both political and economic, and the extension of self-governing independence to all peoples. There are, no doubt, plenty of other matters besides these four to be attended to; but these seem to me to have priority in the application of socialism to contemporary problems.

I do not know whether anything will come of this proposal for a dedicated World Order of Socialism,

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or, more modestly, for an international group pledged to do its best to work out a new Socialist program on a wide enough basis to bring the national movements together again in pursuit of a common purpose. I am myself too old and not in good enough health to play any prominent part, much less to take the lead. But believing that I see what is needed, I do not feel entitled to hold my peace, even if all I can do is to suggest to others a course of action that is beyond my personal power.

CREEPING SECURITY

A Report by Savants . . *by Harvey O'Connor*

Philadelphia

INTERNAL Security and Civil Rights in America was the theme of the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, held in Philadelphia during the Easter holiday recess. It was the Academy's first venture into domestic affairs in its annual meetings in the past twenty-five years, and the interest displayed seemed to reflect the feeling that this subject is indeed the touchiest and most desperate of our time.

Complaining bitterly all the while of his abominable table manners, some of the featured speakers nevertheless managed, with a long spoon, to sup with the devil. But the more clearly others let freedom ring, the higher climbed the enthusiasm of the academicians; the decibels sank when a European savant counseled that the best way to preserve freedom was to deny it to its enemies. The impression became stronger in the course of the sessions that what M. Stanley Livingston, the distinguished M. I. T. physicist and chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, called "creeping security" is the deadly foe of freedom.

Nobody, said Eleanor Bontecou, formerly with the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, is able to define exactly the concepts "national security" and "security risk." They are what any particular security board declares them to be. The security furor, she reported, has uncovered no spy, no Communist among federal employees, who have nevertheless been thrown into double, treble, and quadruple jeopardy by repeated scrutiny.

The morale of the entire civil service, observed Dr. Marie Jahoda of New York University, has been undermined. Dr. Jahoda headed a survey team which interviewed employees whose loyalty had never been questioned and found they had scared themselves far beyond the limits dictated even by security boards. The innocent flee where every man pursueth. Book shelves have been cleared of controversial material. Better to stay out of public activities, too. (Who knows when Senator Claghorn may point an accusing finger at the "international" Red Cross?) Join nothing—a church may be unobjectionable, but beware of the Bishop Oxnams! Some of those interviewed by the Jahoda team were suspicious; they surmised that probably it was a new cleverly disguised F. B. I. undercover trick to pry into their personal affairs.

Given the difficulty of ferreting non-existent Communists out of federal service, the informer becomes the key to "security." But, said Thurman Arnold, it is impossible to devise "fair" procedures for a system that depends on hidden informers; when a man is being tried for his associations, opinions, and character, and not for anything he has done, due process is impossible.

Mostly, the distinguished personages who addressed the Academy were content to hover on the fringes of the problem, on the errors and absurdities of the loyalty-security program. Many referred to the laughable affair of the Post Office Department "authorizing" the delivery of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* to those who were considered loyal enough to be permitted to receive them; none mentioned the far more serious infringement on freedom of the press found in the fact that New York newsstands are not "authorized" to display and sell the New York *Pravda-Izvestia*, the *Daily Worker*. It was deliciously absurd, and many speakers dwelt on it, that a second-hand piano dealer in Washington should be denied a license to do business because he pleaded the Fifth Amendment; but none touched on the significance to freedom of the fact that a hundred Communists are behind the bars, or on their way there, for "conspiring to advocate" revolution, without a scrap of evidence tying them in with an overt incitation to force and violence.

IF THE troublesome root of the security-liberty issue was skirted, nevertheless many a brave word was spoken. Joseph A. Fanelli, former chairman of the United States Board of Immigration Appeals, now a Washington lawyer, stated boldly the "absolute right" of citizens to passports. Today hundreds—thousands, perhaps—are confined to "a sort of hemisphere jail" because they cannot agree to support, while abroad, the current Dulles policies. In an era when, in the words of the prophet Micah, "hunts every man his brother with a net," Fanelli declared that "the rights of every American stand or fall, now as in time past, upon the treatment afforded the most hated citizen."

Stanley Livingston deplored the creation of "second-class citizens, unable to get suitable employment," many of them capable scientists. The

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security charge, even when unproved, had become, he said, "the modern equivalent of the 'scarlet letter,' a brand which can never be removed."

Philip E. Jacob of the University of Pennsylvania affirmed that "good

York Gazette and Daily

Witch Hunts Go On

religion is a bad security risk in the modern state, whether it is a Communist dictatorship, national democracy, or church state." After reviewing four areas of conflict between church and state, he asked if we should not declare "that there are some things more important than national security and that the state may not overstep limits defined by religious belief and conscience."

Subversion, Francis Biddle suggested, is a word that it "is impossible to define in a way that would prove useful." His own initiation, while he was Attorney General, of the list of subversive organizations, he hastened to add, was not his idea but was compelled by a Congressional mandate. The hopelessness of the hunt for "security," he said, was indicated by the Washington *Star* of March 10, 1955, when it reported that "high department officials feel that there has been no let-up in the Communist attempt to infiltrate the government, labor unions, and key industrial plants. They feel . . . that the activities of the Reds have been intensified." Such "feelings," commented Biddle, have been reported regularly every year or two for the past ten years, particularly when the loyalty program of whatever Administration happens to be in power is being questioned. Biddle estimated that 20,000,000 citizens are now under security scrutiny of some kind.

Robert M. Hutchins, associate director of the Ford Foundation, ridiculed the notion that professors are hounded for indoctrinating the innocent minds of students. Every teacher fired so far has been fired for refusal to answer questions about his political affiliations. "We are getting so afraid of ideas," Hutchins said, "that we are afraid of people who associate with people who are said to have ideas, even if they themselves have not expressed them." The issue of academic freedom, the former University of Chicago chancellor added, had been abandoned by the American Association of Universities and the American Association of Colleges; as for the American Association of University Professors, he observed that nothing less than "rejuvenation" was required if it was to be effective in bringing freedom back to the ivied halls of learning.

FIELDING a hot question from the audience as to whether a Communist should be permitted to teach, President Harold Taylor of Sarah Lawrence College ventured that a "Marxist historian" could make a real contribution. Hutchins recalled that he had known a British professor who was a member of the Communist Party executive committee. "The British," he observed, "appear to be getting value out of a scholar whom no great American university could appoint."

Adolf A. Berle, Jr., professor of corporation law at Columbia, backstopped Hutchins and Taylor with his own observations on the slow strangulation of freedom in the universities. "Be quiet, do not shout" is the rule laid down in Academe, he asserted, as corporation gifts mount up and surpass those of the foundations. The corporations, he said, are, oh, so generous, "but, but, but . . ." Instead of professors being penalized because they are controversial, Berle counseled, they might well be denied promotion unless they are. He reminded the Academy of Charles Steinmetz, through whose genius General Electric became preeminent. Steinmetz gloried in his socialism.

To Charles G. Bolte, executive secretary of the American Book Publishers Council, it seemed that the main evils of the security hunt had not been so much the casualties among books and authors as the fear that stalked libraries and schools. The superintendent who has fought off an American Legion raid on his textbooks "may limit his selections afterward to books by writers who never joined anything." The publisher who has braved the storm raised by the disclosure that one of his authors gave $10 to the Spanish War Relief in 1938 "may decide his next book doesn't fit into the list." The scholar who has seen a colleague drawn and quartered for a book on recent Chinese history may abandon his own book on contemporary problems and "start revising his monograph on court customs in the Ming dynasty."

Patrick M. Malin of the American Civil Liberties Union came out for prohibition of wire-tapping, declaring that Americans must bear the risks involved as they have borne others incident to the preservation of liberty. Telford Taylor, formerly with military intelligence in Germany and United States chief counsel for war crimes, denounced the bill recently passed unanimously by the New York State Senate authorizing the discharge of any employee pleading the Fifth Amendment. This, he said, is "outlawry pure and simple." "This proposed law is actually an effort to render unemployable all people who plead the privilege against self-incrimination." Nicholas Biddle, first president of the Bank of the United States, and Presidents Andrew Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant pleaded the Fifth Amendment, he recounted.

The academicians seemed to glow in the warmth of the inspiriting words from the platform. Upon adjournment they could trudge back to the campus—most of them are teachers—remembering perhaps the words of Joseph A. Fanelli, the passport specialist: "And so the gray pall of orthodoxy gradually settles down upon the home of the brave."

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BOOKS

Sedition Circa 400 B.C.

THE STATE VERSUS SOCRATES. Edited by John D. Montgomery. The Beacon Press. $3.50.

By Alexander Meiklejohn

IN "The State Versus Socrates" John D. Montgomery presents a "case study in civic freedom." At a time when American teachers in school and college are officially and unofficially denied the independence of mind which is essential for their work, he offers a collection of writings which consider, pro and con, the refusal of the great Athenian teacher to submit to the demands of his government. Though both the title and the table of contents of the book have an external appearance of clarity and order, the material used lacks coherence. No basic issues are defined or even consecutively pursued. And yet the total massing of the papers gives a vivid sense of the misunderstandings by which a nation that intends to be free may destroy the teaching upon which its freedom largely depends.

The ruling motive of the book is that expressed in the often-quoted words of Robert Burns,

> O wad some Pow'r the giftie gie us
> To see oursels as others see us!

The wise and subtle Scottish poet, as he wrote those lines, was not desiring that we should substitute for our own well-considered judgments of our behavior the impressions which foes or friends may form about us. No one has extolled more highly than he the excellence of "the man of independent mind." But Burns knew all too well that the minds of men, and of nations, are not wholly excellent, or uninterruptedly independent. Therefore he hoped that when arrogance or fear or some other self-deceiving emotion plays upon us, we may be startled and shocked toward sane and sober reflection by discovering that other men or other nations do not see us as we see ourselves, that even our best friends think of us as engaging in activities which, when practiced by others, we regard as hostile to everything we believe and feel. It is in this mood that Mr. Montgomery calls us to reflect upon the trial, conviction, and execution of Socrates, the teacher who twenty-four centuries ago was found guilty by an Athenian court of "corrupting the youth" and "denying the gods."

The opening words of the book's Introduction are as follows:

> When the Athenians condemned Socrates to die because of his ideas, they placed themselves forever on trial.
>
> The choice they offered Socrates was between conformity and martyrdom. They left no room for freedom. Their decision was an uncompromising one, but the verdict that history has placed upon them has been even harsher. Attempting to liquidate the apparently subversive elements in their society, they were to find they had destroyed their claims to the loyalty of free men. Athens was to perish because of their failures, and surviving generations were destined ever after to share their sense of guilt. Only a few years ago a Greek court tried to clear the national conscience by reversing the ancient conviction in this posthumous tribute to free speech. The issues in The State v. Socrates remain still unresolved.

From twenty-four centuries of discussion about those issues Mr. Montgomery selects nineteen controversial papers. In time, they run from Plato and Aristophanes to Popper and Toynbee. In some cases complete arguments are given. Others are taken out of wider settings. Two papers give personal estimates of the defendant in the trial; seven argue, along seven different lines, the Case for the Prosecution; six others, with the same diversity, offer in rebuttal the Case for the Defense; and, finally, four attempts are made to assess the contribution of Socrates to the moral and intellectual enlightenment of Western civilization. In this last section the question whether or not Socrates should be placed side by side with Jesus, as a source of inspiration, is seriously considered.

AS WE read the book it quickly appears that the question of the legal guilt or innocence of the historical Socrates is, not, at this distance of time and circumstance, within the reach of our accurate judgment. Was he "subversive" of the laws of Athens? Was he in fact and purpose an "enemy of the state"? Mr. Montgomery's disputants differ on that issue in the main as they agree or disagree with the philosophical theorizing of Socrates and of his pupil, Plato. We do know that in a time of national danger for a terrified and desperate "democracy," the irony of the great teacher slashed through the ineptness and folly of men in power who were ill equipped for the exercise of that power. Such criticism was, as he understood the life of Athens, a proper part of the work of a teacher.

Further, in line with our own twentieth-century prosecutions of teachers for "lack of loyalty," it has been suggested that Socrates with some of his pupils was engaged in a "foreign conspiracy" against the government of Athens. Perhaps he was. Perhaps not. Neither of the two chief sources of our information raises the suggestion of treasonable guilt above the level of mere conjecture and partisan insinuation. Xenophon, the loyal but literal-minded biographer, was apparently incapable of understanding the bewildering motives and thoughts of the irony-using dialectician whom he tried to describe. Plato, the philosopher, on the other hand, entered so sympathetically into the reflections of his teacher that he made of him, not an actual person, but a symbol, an idea, an expression of the intellectual and moral beliefs upon which a just and intelligent human society might, he thought, be grounded and maintained. How far that idealization, which served the philosopher's purpose of stating abstract principles and questions, may serve also as an accurate description of a living person no one can now tell. Nor, for our present American

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purposes, does anyone need to know.

The question, then, which primarily justifies Mr. Montgomery's offering of these papers for current reading is not that of the facts in a specific case decided twenty-four centuries ago. It is that of the truth or falsity of a theory and practice of liberal teaching which Plato, in some undetermined measure, derived from his own teacher and which, chiefly in the Apology and Crito, he presented as a tribute to his master. "What should a teacher of intellectual freedom in a 'free' society be and do?" "What authority should his government exercise over him?" "What forms of control is such a government, by its own commitments, forbidden to exercise?" Those are the questions which Plato considers through the words of Socrates. And they are also the questions which now perplex officials and non-officials who today seek to further the deepest interests of our own society. To answer them we must make clear to ourselves the principles of idea and value by which our conduct, and hence our teaching, may be wisely done and wisely judged. What, then, let us ask, would a Platonic Socrates say and do if he were summoned by one of our legislative committees to give an account of his teaching, were told what he should believe and advocate and teach, what he was forbidden to believe or advocate or teach? He would, I think, try to explain now, as he did then, what "free" teaching is for him and how it is done.

THE purpose of teaching, as Plato's Socrates practiced it, is so to arouse and cultivate the critical intelligence of the citizens of a society that they will share actively and reasonably in making the decisions which are needed for the governing of their own lives and the life of the community. "Know thyself," he said. And to this he added, "The unexamined life is not worth living." He recognized that knowledge of the external world, of things other than the human mind and spirit, is necessary and useful for the liberal endeavor. But it is, for him, secondary and instrumental. The proper study of mankind is man. The extent to which our colleges, and especially the collegiate divisions of our universities, have departed from that insight is a true measure of their failure to meet the needs of a democratic society. The dictum "Any subject properly taught is liberal," though it gains plausibility from the word "properly," is in effect a source of disastrous confusion. It has sent our education into wanderings far removed from the highway which the democratic purpose prescribes.

The "method" of the Socratic teaching follows directly from its purpose. It is, as every one knows, that of conversation between teacher and pupils. By the use of "ironical" question and answer about urgent and significant matters, in which the teacher acts as a gadfly, pupils are provoked, challenged, criticized, encouraged into developing those powers and habits of independent judgment which are essential for the growth of a free personality, for the creating of a free community. Under another figure Socrates describes his method as that of the "midwife" who helps to "deliver" into active functioning the wisdom and sensitiveness and good-will of which human beings are capable. The method is successful in so far as the pupils establish, in their relations with one another, that same reasonable and friendly cooperation in the search for practical wisdom which they have had with their teachers. To learn that lesson is to become morally and intellectually equipped for citizenship in a free society.

With the purpose and method of teaching thus defined we can, I think, begin to see what the Socrates of Plato is talking about in the Apology and the Crito. The teacher is, for him, a public servant. What, then, is his relation to the government which is commissioned to further the general welfare? Should a government which is established "to secure the blessings of liberty" to its citizens presume to exercise control over the teaching of those citizens? Or should the teachers be free and uncontrolled in the field of their activity? In Plato's way of dealing with the apparent conflict between those two suggestions we find the intellectual attitude and procedure which have made his writing the dominating model for the "philosophical" thinking of our Western culture. When confronted with the supposed contradictories, "The state must control teaching" and "The state may never limit the freedom of teaching," he refuses to choose between them. Both seem to him, in some sense, true, as well as, in some sense, false. And the two "true" forms of belief are, he is sure, consistent with and supplementary to each other. The philosophical task is, then, so to interpret the two sets of ideas that both of them may be held valid. This is not the method of compromising. It is the method of reasoning. It is the kind of thinking by which men of philosophic mind have solved, or tried to solve, the basic and permanent human dilemmas about fact and value, body and mind, fate and freedom, oneness and manyness, and so on. These apparent, though unreal, conflicts of ideas, changing form with every change in human circumstances, are never finally resolved. The task of grappling with them is an unending one. And yet, to hold fast to both horns of these dilemmas, as Plato did, is the only kind of effort which can deal successfully with such a paradox as that between the claims of the individual freedom of a citizen and the totalitarian control of a government.

IT IS intellectual madness to find all truth on one side of such a paradox and all falsity on the other. We shall never settle such differences by hurling epithets at one another across a chasm of mutual distrust and condemnation. Nations as well as individuals, when confronted by conflicting theories, must learn to think, not merely against each other, but also with each other. Where shall we find, how shall we create, the teaching which will stimulate and guide that thinking? How can such teaching be provided and controlled and yet be independent and free? It is questions such as these which are in Plato's mind as he writes the Apology and the Crito. In the Apology he defines and urges the duty of a citizen to disobey certain laws of the community which he serves. In the Crito he pleads, with equal emphasis, the rightful claim of the government to require and to enforce obedience to its laws. It is that dilemma which is seeking solution in the case of *The State* v. *Soc-*

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rates or, on appeal, of *Socrates* v. *The State.*

It does not fall within the scope of this review of Mr. Montgomery's book to attempt to follow the reflections through which Plato seeks to resolve the paradox of freedom and control. It must be noted, however, that if we wish to share in his thinking we must read not only the Apology but also the Crito. The Apology demands that even under penalty of death a free teacher-citizen shall disobey his government. But the Crito urges, with equal insistence, that even though it leads him to his death the teacher-citizen owes and must give obedience to the government. To take either horn of that dilemma without taking the other is to misconceive the basic purpose of Plato's argument. He is not a propagandist for freedom. He is a sober and well-balanced student of the political institutions by which men are both free and governed.

And, finally, Mr. Montgomery's book, as we reflect upon it, reveals how little can be gained toward an understanding of the bewildering relation between intellectual freedom and governmental control by merely matching "the case for the prosecution" against "the case for the defense." If we wish to grasp the politics of freedom we must go far deeper than that method of external controversy. We must seek for a theory of political structure and function in which freedom and control are not in conflict with each other, in which they do not strive for reconciliation by making compromises and concessions and "exceptions" to each other, but are seen to be two mutually complementary aspects of the same self-governing process. But that kind of thinking is not easy for present-day Americans.

We encounter here what is, I think, the most discouraging and terrifying feature of our current attitude and behavior. We are propagandists rather than reasoners, salesmen rather than teachers. Two centuries ago our forefathers, having learned much from suffering and injustice, were thinking into being a tentative unification of the claims of freedom and control which gave form to our plan of government. That thinking is our greatest national achievement. It was daring

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* * *

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and novel and experimental. So far as conflicts of ideas were concerned, it was ready and eager for a fair fight on any open field. But two centuries of frenzied and successful preoccupation with the acquisition of power and wealth have transformed our attitude toward free inquiry. It has now come about that the "free men" of the United States are not called upon to think through their political institutions, to understand and criticize them. On the contrary, we are forbidden to do so.

Our duty as citizens is, therefore, not to understand but to believe. Loyalty requires of us that we defend our principles against the attacks of "alien" ideas, not by reasoning about those ideas and our own, but by bringing to bear upon our "opponents" or "enemies" the pressures of military force, or economic advantage, or the trickeries of propaganda. And the effect of that corrupting of our minds has been to transform our intellectual heritage, from an exploring and fearless idea which led the world forward, into a timid, defensive, and hysterical dogma which holds the world back. That is why, like Athens, we hunt our teachers down as "corrupters of the youth." That is why, to make sure of their "loyalty," we demand of them a conformity and submissiveness of mind which make them utterly unfit for the work we give them to do.

Readable but Incomplete

GHOST ON HORSEBACK. THE INVISIBLE ATATURK. By Ray Brock. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York; Little, Brown and Company, Boston. $4.75.

By Mark Gayn

EVEN among the great men who people the history of this century, Kemal Ataturk ranks high. A poor wretch of a boy, whose first known job was to fight off crows in a Thracian field, he rose to overthrow the Sultanate, defeat all the armies of the West come to split his country, break Islam's grasp on the nation's mind and politics, and open Turkey's doors to fresh social, political, and economic winds blowing from without. Kemal was a man of extraordinary talents, vast ambitions, rare political acumen, and great curiosity. He was also a domineering man who could not tolerate opposition, a rake, a gambler, and a prodigious tippler who, almost literally, drank himself to death in 1938.

To this colorful giant Ray Brock, a one-time correspondent in Turkey, now dedicates a sprightly biography that often seems to have been written with one eye on Kemal's ghost and the other on Hollywood. Brock's device is to put himself into Kemal's mind and body and to proceed from there. This enables him not only to record Kemal's conversations with historical figures long dead but even to have Kemal, at the age of ten, mutter to himself, "I am a Turk. A warrior, son of a warrior people. That my father was a failure is of no consequence. That my mother is crude and illiterate means less." Kemal's ideas come not out of association with other men or political currents, but out of himself; so do all his decisions. He is a man of unaccountable furies, of four-letter words, and, above all, in Brock's account, of powerful sex urges. ("He paid ardent court to a dozen beauties of the foreign colony —and a gratifying number of them responded. Englishwomen, he discovered, were neither as frigid nor as unimaginative, etc., etc.") The fascinated reader may end by wondering whether it is just bad purple prose or a deliberate parody.

It is all too bad, for Kemal is still one of Europe's few great figures of whom no good biography exists. Yet the material is ample and requires only a little bit of effort to dig it up. In Istanbul's plushy Macka district one can still find retired politicians and generals who once worked, or warred, with Kemal. The archives of the People's Party have never been tapped. At the universities of Istanbul and Ankara there are scholars who have made—but never published—extensive studies of Kemal, his policies, his philosophy, and his era.

Brock sets Kemal apart from the "Young Turks." Yet Kemal was a product of the "Young Turk" revolution, and the ideas which affected them influenced him as well. Atatism, a form of state socialism which Kemal introduced in the early thirties, had, in fact, been discussed in "Young Turk" circles even before Kemal became prominent. And one of the most fascinating features of Atatism, left unmentioned by Brock, is the curious role played by a Russian emigre leftist named Parvus (A. L. Helfand) in the development of "Young Turk" political philosophy. (Isaac Deutscher's "The Prophet Armed" deals at some length with the influence Parvus exerted on Trotsky.) A few years before the outbreak of World War I, Parvus came to Turkey from Germany and made contacts with the young and rebellious officers and intellectuals. When the editors of the new "Young Turk" ideological magazine, *Tyurk Yurdu (Turkish Homeland)*, asked its readers to help formulate a fresh "Turkish view of national economy," Parvus responded. His articles, which urged Turkey to end foreign controls over its economy and to create its own industry, had a tremendous impact on the "Young Turks." One of them was Kemal.

Nor was Parvus the only influence. In the early twenties Kemal was the hope of intellectuals, and many of them literally walked from Istanbul to Ankara to add to the turmoil of ideas around Kemal. His emissaries abroad brought back with them concepts of Western democracy, communism, and fascism, and traces of each can be found in Kemal's political philosophy. And no serious biography of Kemal should ignore *Kadro,* a magazine started in 1932 by some German-educated ex-Communists which helped to crystallize the later ideas of Kemal and his successor, Inonu.

It may well be that Ray Brock had come across all or some of these facts in his research. If so, he has ignored them in favor of more lurid tidbits. The product may thereby have been made more readable. But it has also made of modern Turkey's greatest man a gaily colored cardboard figure. Kemal deserves better.

MARK GAYN, author of "Japan Diary" and "The War in the Pacific," has spent some time in Turkey.

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Selected New Books

European Politics

THE FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT. By Val R. Lorwin. Harvard. $6. This first book by Lewis Lorwin's gifted son, lately victimized by government "informers" and still a faculty member of the University of Chicago, is an admirable, judicious, fully documented, and (I should guess) definitive study of French trade unionism from the Revolution to now. With remarkable insight and perspective it traces the tangled tale of the syndicates, labor disputes, collective bargaining, the C. G. T., the Force Ouvriere, and the politics of the proletariat. The most illuminating single book of recent years on contemporary France.

THE RISE OF FRENCH LIBERAL THOUGHT. By Kingsley Martin. New York University. $3.75. This revised version, edited by J. P. Mayer, of a minor classic first written in 1929 by the famous British publicist is a brilliant and witty history and critique of the thoughts and thinkers of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, from Bayle through Condorcet. For scholars and laymen alike it remains the most useful and stimulating one-volume treatment of the political ideas which have found expression in French democracy.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MASTERY IN EUROPE, 1848-1918. By A. J. P. Taylor. Oxford. $7. This second volume of the "Oxford History of Modern Europe," edited by Alan Bullock and F. W. D. Deakin, is a highly readable diplomatic history from the end of Metternich's regime to the defeat of the Hohenzollern Reich. Professor Taylor, fellow of Magdalen College, has already won his laurels as a historian. This is his best work to date.

A HALF CENTURY OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. By Frederic R. Coudert. Columbia. $4. The late senior partner of Coudert Brothers here reprinted, under the editorship of Allan Nevins and with an introduction by Philip C. Jessup, his major essays and addresses between 1905 and World War II. He was a distinguished international lawyer whose ideas and reminiscences should prove interesting to all lawyers and to many outside the legal profession.

THE EVOLUTION OF DIPLOMATIC METHOD. By Harold Nicolson. Macmillan. $2.25. In these four Chichele lectures of 1953 at Oxford a talented biographer, novelist, and historian surveys diplomacy in Greece and Rome, the "Italian System," the "French System," and the transition between the old diplomacy and the new. The total comes to less than 100 pages. But each page is urbane, sagacious, and exciting. Nicolson knows the ends and means of "sound diplomacy" and is hopeful that it will again fulfil the functions which are more than ever necessary in a time of troubles.

THE YOUNG HITLER I KNEW. By August Kubizek. Translated by E. V. Anderson. Introduction by H. R. Trevor-Roper. Houghton-Mifflin. $4. This volume is not, as R. H. S. Crossman has written, "the most important book on Hitler since 'Mein Kampf.'" This honor must go to Alan Bullock's superb biography published in 1953. Yet here is fascinating new light on the obscure formative years between the ages of sixteen and twenty, written by a naive but perceptive upholsterer and musician who was Hitler's closest friend in Linz and Vienna. The vivid story he tells helps to explain how a neurotic adolescent who never grew up acquired the will to attempt the conquest and destruction of a civilization which, even now, is perilously lacking in maturity.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

About Asia

PRISONERS' BLUFF. By Rolf Magener. Translated from the German by Basil Creighton. Dutton. $3.75. Rolf Magener was a fellow-internee of Heinrich Harrer, author of "Seven Years in Tibet." He and another German escaped with Harrer from a British P. O. W. camp in India in 1944, but made their way eastward instead of north, pitting their skill against both British enemy and Japanese ally to achieve escape. Magener's record of their Odyssey is

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an adventurous tale of stirring courage and fantastic luck.

JOURNEY TO THE PATHANS. By Peter Mayne. Doubleday. $4. The reader gradually appreciates that the British author, who served two years with the new-born Pakistan government, made his return journey to satisfy a nostalgic longing to savor again, among the people and mores of an Asian back-country, the relish of another culture and era. Only sketchily suggestive of current political embroilments like those about Kashmir and the projected State of Pashtunistan, Mayne's chatty account of his travels in Pathan country and beyond is constructed in the main of "local color" and the author's sympathy for the people. Pleasant reading.

INVITATION TO AN EASTERN FEAST. By Austin Coates. Harper. $4. Austin Coates served with the R. A. F. and H. M. Colonial Service in India and different parts of Southeast Asia from 1942 onwards. His book, however, is devoted only to his off-duty hours, spent pleasurably with Asian friends. The "feast" he presents is too eclectic and impressionistic, and some of his subjective appraisals are too far from the mark, for acceptance as an integral whole. This is an Asia for the amateur of the Orient, not without its quaintness and delights, but sometimes distant from common reality.

REPORT FROM MALAYA. By Vernon Bartlett. Criterion. $2.75. A seasoned journalist, author, and former Member of Parliament describes the complex situation in Malaya, where the activities of some 5,000 Communist terrorists have focused urgent attention on the knotty problem of constructing a self-governing state out of diverse nationalities. His brief, lucid exposition admirably sets forth the essentials of that situation.

SOMETHING IS MISSING. By Arthur Goodfriend. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $3.50. This book is a logical successor to the author's "The Only War We Seek." It portrays Asia in various basic manifestations, by meaningful photographs threaded on a running commentary—with glimpses of the United States interspersed for contrast. A postscript by James A. Michener lifts the text, in the end, to a cogent summary of the central theme that the gulf between Asians and Americans must be bridged.

O. EDMUND CLUBB

Theater

Robert Hatch

IT IS too bad that "promising" has become a depressing cliche of the reviewing vocabulary; it is the proper—and should be the optimistic—term for "Teach Me How to Cry" (Theatre de Lys). But the modern theater has no patience with promise; it is a market, not a school, and the maiden playwright is expected to click with a hit. Those that do are then rewarded so extravagantly that unless they are remarkably level-headed they continue anxiously to click out hits for the rest of their dramatic lives.

Patricia Joudry is not one of these instantaneous phenomena. Her first New York play is in no way sensational; it is not really well constructed, and there is little chance that it will move uptown in a blaze of publicity. But it gives evidence of a gift for stage narrative, a robust interest in personality, and a quite subtle insight into the ways in which human beings shape one another. In short, it is interesting now and promises still better work to come. The play is brought to town by LPS Productions, a new firm composed of Paul Lilly, Bill Penn, and Robinson Stone—actors, all three. They could scarcely have found a more useful project for the launching of their partnership.

"Teach Me How to Cry" is a play in three acts and ten scenes—an elaborate design that suggests the author is not yet comfortable in the narrow premises of the stage. Miss Joudry has been a successful radio and television script writer, here and in Canada, and the habits of the air serial have perhaps led her into framing her play in this large number of more or less self-contained units. Her narrative thread is too slack for the theater; she makes her points too explicitly and too often.

But the core of her play is remarkably well stated and remarkably perceptive. A lonely boy and girl discover each other; their love is immediate, all-engrossing, but entirely tentative—it is smashed before it has time to become anything more—and when it is over they return to the loneliness of living with their unsuccessful elders. But it is better, because they are now lonely for something, not just empty lonely. That is all there is to the story, but it is enough because the children are made to seem important and they ring true; the boy, it must be admitted, sometimes speaks with a psychological wisdom beyond his years and the year—which is 1919—but these author intrusions do not submerge him.

The bulk of the playing time is taken up with defining the destroyed personality of the girl's mother, the pathetic lost hopes of the boy's parents, the terror of being unconsidered that drives the small villain who destroys the brief spring idyl. Miss Joudry sets up these side issues with considerable skill, but she has not yet a strong enough sense of form to make them all bear on the progress of the play. The supporting characters tend to usurp the stage for their own dramas, and the play loses impetus in a confusion of focus.

"Teach Me How to Cry" is nevertheless warm and thoughtful and worth thinking about; it is the work of a good mind that will obviously gain craftsmanship with practice. Robert Hartung has directed it lightly and with affection for its participants. The whole cast seems remarkably secure, and the performances of Deirdre Owens and Richard Morse as the young couple, John Becher as the boy's father and Nancy Marchand as the girl's mother, Mary James as the school teacher, and Charron Follett as the young witch who poisons the mind of the community are models of strong and straightforward stage behavior. The sets by John Blankenchip, modest and airy like pencil sketches, sustain the quiet honesty of the play and work handsomely on the small platform stage of the Theatre de Lys.

IF THERE were a radio and television reviewer handy on this magazine I would try to turn over "Three for Tonight" to him. This is a "package" show, a bang-up spectacular designed to knock the daylights

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out of every Hooper rating in town.

I realize that television has borrowed heavily from the revue formula, but what this revue has borrowed from television is a patronizing intimacy, an air of self-congratulation, a pretense that talent is nothing more than competence with a sizzle. It is not unamusing and I was not unamused—but then I got in free, the way you do to television.

This "diversion in song and dance" pretends to a relaxed informality—no curtain and the members of the cast moving the props about—but on the second night it was as rigid and self-conscious as a high-school commencement. The ad lib quality may get to be more convincing as the show works down into the rut of routine; the only way you can seem really offhand in the theater is to know exactly what you are doing every moment that the lights are on you. But I don't set much value on this specious chumminess, popular though it is with the sponsors.

The "three" of the title are Marge and Gower Champion, dancers, and Harry Belafonte, who sings blues, spirituals, and work songs. They are assisted by a well-drilled, not at all distinguished choral group called pretentiously The Voices of Walter Schumann, and by Hiram Sherman, master of ceremonies—he is the fussy pedant type, not very original.

Harry Belafonte—he was Joe in "Carmen Jones"—is a marvelously handsome man with a brilliant stage presence. He moves beautifully—there is more natural "dance" in him than in either of the Champions—and he can sing with intelligence and taste. He led the company in a calypso number, "Matilda," that was as captivating, rousing, and humorous a ten minutes as you are ever likely to have in the theater.

But Belafonte fancies himself as a diseur—he "projects" most of his numbers, and he is grotesquely unsuited to that sort of histrionics. It is simply embarrassing, and one song, called "Take My Mother Home" and evoking Christ on Calvary, is worse than embarrassing. Belafonte is young, he has tremendous vitality and self-assurance; he needs powerful direction.

The Champions are better groomed to their job, but they have less to offer. They are hoofers with charm and could fill a spot with great credit in any show. But to carry a show takes more than fleet feet and a smile, and before the evening is over their small technique is exhausted and their small inventiveness cruelly exposed by repetition. Gower Champion staged, directed, and choreographed "Three for Tonight." He is not that kind of theater virtuoso—more a jack-of-all-trades.

NOTE: At the end of my review of "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" I said that Tennessee Williams has a "diabolical gift for laying bare the crumminess of humanity. . . ." This came out "the circumstances of humanity," a meaningless phrase.

Records

B. H. Haggin

IN ADDITION to the record with I Musici's superb performances of four Vivaldi works that I reviewed in November, Angel has issued 35086, with the fine Tartini Cello Concerto in A, which has an especially beautiful slow movement; Marcello's Introduction, Aria, and Presto, of which the Aria also is especially beautiful; Galuppi's engaging Concerto No. 2 "A Quattro"; and Rossini's charming and amusing Sonata for violins, cellos, and bass. These are played with the precision of execution, the transparency and beauty of blended string tone, the refinement of phrasing, the warmth, grace, and style that are so extraordinary. And extraordinary too are the rich, dark tone and the elegance of style with which Enzo Altobelli plays the solo part of the Tartini concerto. The Marcello piece, unfortunately, is reproduced with less bright and clean sound than the others. Similarly beautiful performances are heard on Angel 35088 in the lovely but excessively long "Canzon in echo duodecimi toni" of Giovanni Gabrieli; a moderately engaging Concerto Grosso in F by Marcello; and the uninteresting Concerto in D by Albioni and Concerto in F for three violins by Vivaldi, with the solo parts played by Franco Tamponi, Felix Ayao, and Walter Galozzi.

Mozart's writing for winds is always agreeable to the ear; but the Divertimenti K.252, 253, 270, and 289 for two oboes, two horns, and two bassoons on Epic LC-3081 are musically inconsequential. Good performances by a group from the Vienna Symphony under Paumgartner.

In Webster Aitken's performance of Schubert's beautiful Piano Sonata Op. 42 on EMS 107 one hears as always a powerful musical intelligence operating with carefully thought-out and masterfully executed purpose—purpose which sometimes is related to what appears to be the composer's purpose and sometimes not, which sometimes is good for the music and sometimes not, which sometimes achieves a good of its own and sometimes not. Thus, in the first movement Aitken changes the slight emphasis, the small crescendo, the small retardation Schubert asks for into big ones, and adds many that Schubert does not ask for

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—all in elaboration and intensification to achieve the shape and expressive content Aitken wants the movements to have. They are, I think, different from the shape and expressive content Schubert intended them to have; but considered in and for themselves they have continuity, coherence, consistency, and make acceptable sense. Not so in the second movement. Schubert's Andante poco moto tempo is one that can be maintained all the way through the variations; and with this consistency in pace there is a consistency in expressive content. But the much faster Allegretto tempo Aitken begins with is one he cannot maintain even through the second page—i.e. throughout the rapid passage-work of the second variation; nor can the capricious character which the faster pace and his fitful rushes and hesitations give to the serious and plaintive writing of the opening page be maintained throughout—e.g. in the powerful third variation; moreover the opening page can be played in that fast tempo and that fitful manner and make acceptable sense, but I can't accept the sense the final variation makes played that fast; nor can I accept the distortion of Schubert's sense in the third variation by Aitken's exaggerated distentions. On the other hand his fitful style is exactly what is called for by the capricious scherzo (and one can accept the trio played with his pauses); and it works well in the finale. The performance is reproduced in miniature—with extremely low volume and without the rich resonance of some other piano recordings nowadays.

Voluminous and richly resonant piano sound is produced, for example, by Spa 63; and one might want the record for that reason; but I wouldn't advise anyone to acquire it for MacDowell's "Sonata Tragica" and "Sonata Eroica," which are performed well by Perry C'Neil.

Gulda's performances of Chopin's Ballades on London LD-9177 are mannered and violent in their changes of pace and sonority, and without the easy flow and grace of Casadesus's performances on the old Columbia record.

Period 713/4 offers Schubert's "Die schone Mullerin" and "Die Winterreise" sung by Inez Matthews, mezzo-soprano, with Lowell Farr at the piano. She sings the songs very simply—in fact too simply, which is to say without any expressive intensification of inflection of phrase, and with the resulting monotony increased by the unvarying bright timbre of her voice.

Oiseau-Lyre OL-50038 offers Handel's "Apollo e Dafne" performed well by Margaret Ritchie, soprano, Bruce Boyce, baritone, and an instrumental group under Anthony Lewis. This dramatic cantata is an early product of Handel's years in Italy, and no more than pleasant to listen to except for one outstandingly beautiful aria, Dafne's *Felicissima quest' alma,* which is made exciting by Ritchie's singing.

The adventurous American Opera Society, at its final Town Hall concert, offered a welcome opportunity to hear Monteverdi's opera "L'Incoronazione di Poppea"; and it was interesting to hear the work, with its expressive recitative; but the music I enjoyed more was the charming set piece for the flirtation of the page and lady-in-waiting. Arnold U. Gamson, who had made his own realization of the work from the voice parts and bass line of the original manuscript, again conducted a well-integrated performance, in which the best singing was done by Paul Franke, Sarah Fleming, Mariquita Moll, and Chester Watson. I don't expect to persuade the society to change its procedure; nevertheless I will put on record my opinion that having the singers act characters of antiquity in present-day tails and evening dresses produces results that are often embarrassing or ridiculous, and that it would be better not to distract the listener in this way, but instead to offer him a straight concert performance and let him combine the music with the dramatic action in his own mind.

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Letters

A Puzzled Briton

Dear Sirs: All the talk about Communist "imperialism" and "aggression" is rendered humbug when the United States claims the right to dictate to a great country like China that it shall not recover control of territory lost to the defeated side in a civil war and justifies the claim by citing its own strategic interests.

What do the American working people, liberal thinkers, churches, and ethical societies feel and say and do about this reckless drift to world war which their government is leading? Your paper has friendly relations with our New Statesman and Nation, but the latter is silent about the better America we know exists. All we hear are the views of the Republicans and Democrats (equally hopeless from our point of view), with no news about United States internationalists. Can you help to break the sound barrier which appears to exist at present?

J. HENRY LLOYD
Welwyn Garden City, Herts., England

Courageous Position

Dear Sirs: I would like to express to the editors of The Nation my admiration for their courage in tackling the controversial abortion problem in the article by Edwin M. Schur, in the issue of March 5. The point of view presented is certainly one with which university students and faculty members need to come face to face. I am bringing the material to the attention of the dean of our law school, the director of our medical office, the head of our sociological department, and our dean of men and dean of women.

HOWARD F. McGAW, Director of Libraries, University of Houston
Houston, Tex.

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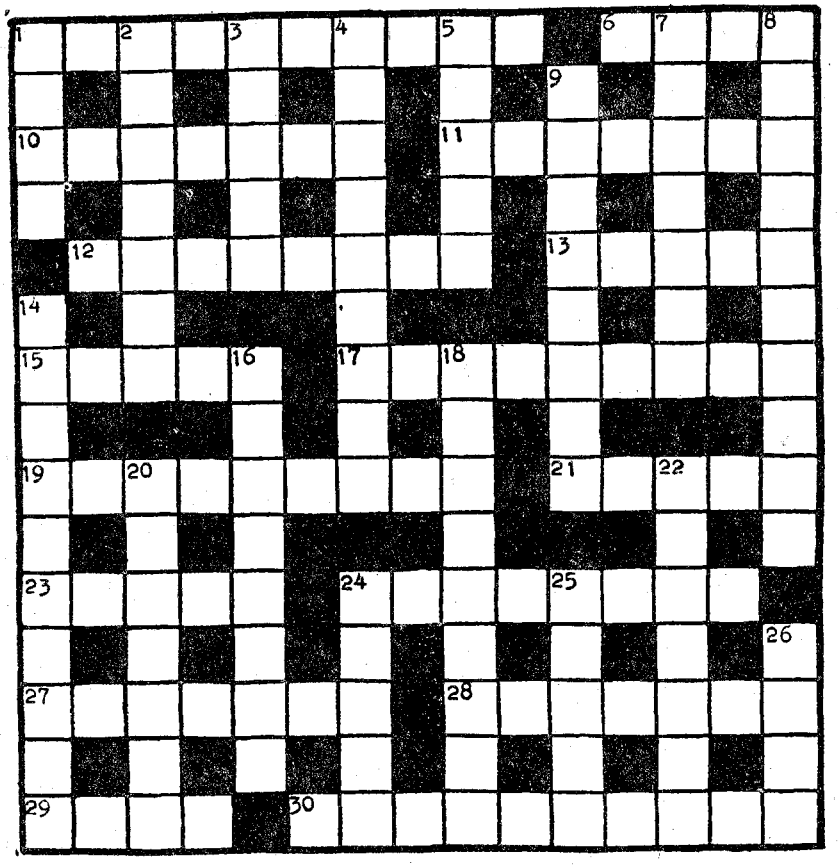
Crossword Puzzle No. 616

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 30 across, 14 down and 17 across. One race with animals which have lost their balance as the only ones in the heat? (3,4,3,10,2,3,2,3,3-3,3)
6 See 3 down
10 The site of the Taj Mahal has rather obscure surroundings. (7)
11 See 1 down
12 The sort of college girls who are about set to be pampered. (8)
13 After hub, tire, felloe and spring, this was a weak spot the Deacon worried about. (5)
15 Where to find H or C readily available? (2,3)
17 See 1 across
19 Strips. (9)
21 One of Whitman's late-bloomers? (5)
23 It sounds as though I do of thee in song. (5)
24 Sea and shore? It sounds like a summer playground! (8)
27 Proving a number of busy bodies have to pay rent. (7)
28 See 8 down
29 Not meeting points for wastrels. (4)
30 See 1 across

DOWN

1 and 11 across An omelet should be —it's more fitting that way. (4,2,5)
2 What one might do to tensile things up in a direction about you. (4,3)
3 and 6 across The bottom of the iris, perhaps, is important in make-up. (9)
4 I seem most unruly every now and then. (9)
5 Important music should be. (5)
7 Gives orders, perhaps, on raids. (7)
8 and 28 across For those who like to crawl back into their shell? (You may not have any ties with it.) (6-4,7)
9 Might several such drop in the yard? (8)
14 See 1 across
16 Do some associate it with rushing to the pawnshop? (8)
18 Little sister is disturbed by the gloomy surroundings, evidently. (9)
20 A bad gin indeed! So you've condescended to give the answer! (7)
22 What happens when the cat is run over by a cannon? (4, 3)
24 The worker is thus surrounded by the human race. (5)
25 What one might give in 16. (5)
26 What bearers are often told to do. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 615

ACROSS: 1 LONG JOHN SILVER; 8 SCOTCH WHISKY; 10 MILLSTREAM; 11 ARMS; 13 NOTING; 14 RETRACED; 16 TENTACLE; 17 STAGES; 19 RUSK; 20 UNKNITTING; 22 MAKING UP TIME; 23 FOREIGN ACCENTS. DOWN: 1 LAST-MINUTE RUSH; 2 NEOPLATONISM; 3 JACKSONIAN; 4 HOWARD; 5 SPIRALED; 6 LAKE; 7 DRESS DESIGNER; 9 PRECOGNITION; 18 PROTOTYPIC; 15 PLANKING; 18 ENIGMA; 21 KALE.

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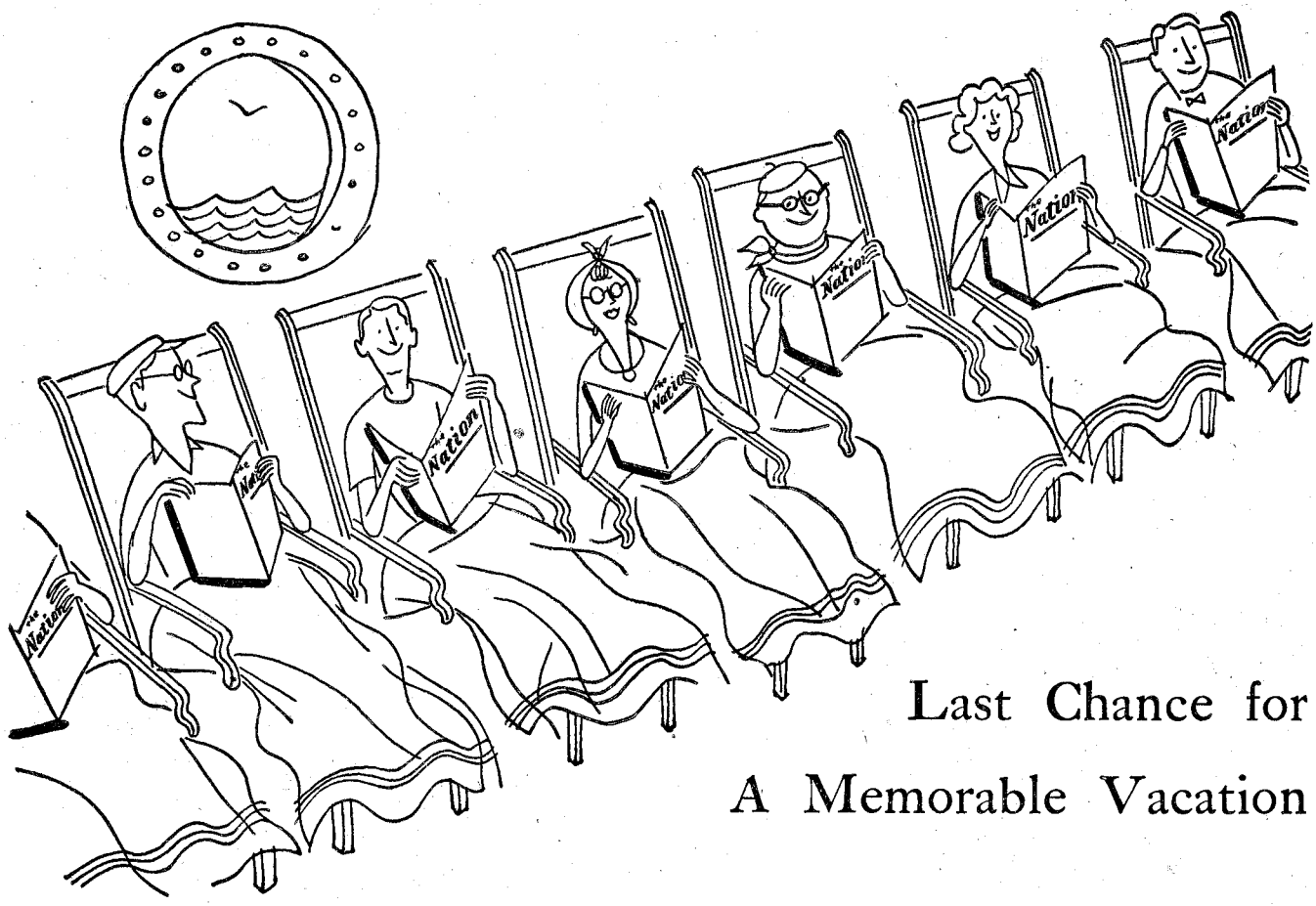

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